

THE SPEECHES

Of Captain *Walcot*, *Jo. Rouse*, and *Will. Hone*,

On Friday the Twentieth of *July*, 1683.

Captain *Thomas Walcot* being drawn to *Tyburn* in one Hurdle, *John Rouse* and *William Hone* in another, and there put into a Cart, the Reverend Dr. *Thomas Cartwright*, Dean of *Rippon*, and one of His Majesties Chaplains in Ordinary, with Mr. *Smith* the Ordinary of *Newgate*, began to acquaint Captain *Walcot*. That this was the last time he had to spend in the world; and therefore desired him to make a good use of it, telling him, *That as death leaves him, so Judgment will find him*; and earnestly exhorted him to make an Ingenious Discovery and Confession of what he knew touching the Conspiracy and Treasons of which he had been found guilty, and received Sentence to die.

To this Captain *Walcot* replied, That he had some Papers in his Pocket, of what he had prepared to say in Writing, because his memory was bad; therefore he desired they might be pulled out, and he would read them.

Then Dr. *Cartwright* and the Ordinary spake to *Hone* and *Rouse* to the effect before-mentioned, earnestly desiring them to confess the whole of what they knew; instancing some places of Scripture to them as *Jobnah's* advice to *Achan*, &c. *My Son, confess, and give glory to God, whom you have dishonoured*, &c. telling them, they would have imbrued their hands in the Blood of a merciful and good Prince who had often pardoned, and gave many Acts of Oblivion and Indemnity to his Subjects; and whose Reign hath preserved the purity of the Protestant Religion amongst us: That we cannot enjoy more than we do enjoy: with other good admonitions for them to make clear Discoveries of the truth of what they knew.

Captain *Walcot* in the mean while was prepared to read his Speech.

Dr. *Cartwright* askt him if he could discover any more than he had done already.

Walcot. I've not in the general. I told the King the thing was laid very deep: There was a Gentleman with me last night, I told him what I told the King, and that was all: I told him I thought an Act of Indulgence would be very necessary, because he had a great many men to take Judgment of. I know not the particulars of the Delight, but the King hath the Lord *Howard*, Mr. *West*, and others that know more than I. I was never in Council with them, nor never with them above four, five, or half a dozen times.

Then looking upon his Paper, he began his Speech as follows.

This great Concourse of people do not only come here to see me dye, but also to hear what I shall say; and because I would not be reproached, and thought to be an Atheist when I am gone, I have two or three words to speak for my Religion. I do believe in Three persons, and one God, and I expect and hope to be saved by the Merits and Righteousness of his Son Christ Jesus, without the hope of an advantage by any Merits or Righteousness of my own. And I believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of God, that they were not written according to the will of Man, but holy men of God writ them as they were inspired by the holy Ghost.

I believe that these Scriptures ought to be the Rule of our Faith, and the method of our Worshipping of God : I believe that as Christ is the head of his Church, so he is their Law-giver; That it is not in the power of any Council or Conclave of Cardinals, or power upon earth whatsoever, to set up the Precepts and Traditions of men, and to make them of equal validity with the word of God. I believe it was not because the Jews rejected and Crucified Christ, that he rejected them, but because they rejected his Word; which appears by the Three thousand that God by one Sermon of *Peters* Converted; they being *pricked in their hearts*, and *touched in their Consciences*, cried out, *Men and Brethren what shall we do?* and they were that day added to the Church. It was certainly because the Jews rejected the Word and Gospel of Christ, that the things were *hid from their eyes which belonged to their peace*. It is a dreadful thing to reject the Word of God; and it is a dreadful thing to live in a sinful course of life, till God withdraws his Spirit from us: For it is said, *it shall not always strive with man. Death is the wages of sin*. I believe had not Adam sinned, he and we his posterity had not dyed. Death is said to be the *King of Terrors*, but it is only so to those that are terrified with a terrifying Conscience, that have the arrows of the Almighty sticking in them, from Convictions of great guilt, and see no hopes of mercy, have no assurance of pardon; but those that are Christs, he takes away the terror, and horror, and sting of death; he enables them to say with *Paul*, *To me to live is Christ, and to dye is gain*: he enables not only to get unto Christ, but into Christ; and so they have *Communion and Fellowship with the Father and the Son*. It is no hard matter to get the notions of the promises of the Gospel into our heads; but unless the Lord is pleased to apply them to our hearts, we cannot believe: except we be *in Christ as branches in the Vine*, we are not Christians indeed. It was the case of poor *Francis Spira*; he was certainly a knowing man, but notwithstanding he had not faith to apply the promises. Christ hath said, *that he that believes in him, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and he that lives and believes in him, shall never dye*. So if we be able to apply the promises by the Spirit of God, we may have comfort through Faith: but then *Faith is the gift of God, and Faith comes by hearing the Word of God, and receiving it in the love of God*.

I shall not be tedious, Mr. Sheriff, I shall be very short.

Mr. Sheriff. Take your own time.

Walscot. As to the present occasion of my death, I do neither blame the Judges, nor the Jury, nor the Kings Council: I only blame some men that in reality and in truth were deeper concerned, and more engaged than I, that came in as Witnesses against me; who Swore me out of my life to save their own, and who for fear they should not do it effectually, contrived that, That I will appeal to you all, whether there be a probability in it or not: for they said that I made it a scruple of Conscience to have a hand in killing the King, or to embroil my hands in his blood, but was so generous as to undertake the Charging his Guards, whilst others did it, and to the end another might do it. Truly I will appeal to all that know me, whether they believe me so much an Idiot, that I should not understand it was the same thing to engage the Kings Guards, whilst another Killed him, as to Kill him with my own hands. But however, by their Swearing against me, they have secured their own Lives and Estates, and made my Blood the price of theirs. I confess I was so unfortunate and unhappy, as to be invited by Colonel *Ramsay*, (one of the Witnesses against me) to some meetings, where some things were discoursed of in order to the asserting our Liberties and Properties, which we looked upon to be violated and invaded. But it was he, and Mr. *West*, and some Gentlemen that are fled, who were the great promoters of those Meetings. I was near a quarter of a year ill of the Gout, and during that time Mr. *West* often visited me, and till his discourse would be, concerning *Lopping the Tree Sparks*; That was the word he used, meaning the King and the Duke; and proposed it might be done at a Play: This was his frequent discourse: for he said, Then they would dye in their Calling! it was his very Expression. He bought Arms to do it with, without any direction of mine; I never saw the Arms, nor I never saw the men that were to do it: though they said they had fifty employed to that end. I told several of them, That the Killing the King would carry such a blemish and stain with it, as would descend to posterity; that I had Eight Children, that I was loath should be blemished with it: and whilst I was confident the Duke of *Monmouth* would revenge his Fathers Blood, if it were but to vindicate him-

self from having any hand in it. Mr. *West* presently told me; that the Duke of *Monmouth* did not refuse to give an Engagement, that he would not punish those that should kill the King.

And now I desire to forgive all the World from the very bottom of my heart; and I pray God of his mercy from my heart to forgive them, even Mr. *Shepherd*, who delivered me up, who promised to carry me into *Holland*, but instead of that, he brought me into the condition wherein I now am. I do desire with all my heart to forgive the Witnesses, and withal do earnestly beg that they may be observed, that some remarks may be set upon them, whether their End be Peace, and that they die the common Death of all men. Certainly, though it be the Law of the Land I ought to die, and the King may justly and reasonably put me to death for being in those Meetings where a War was debated; yet I think these men are guilty of my Blood, that were as deep in as I, and have betrayed me, and taken it away. Then in the next place I beg leave, Mr. Sheriff, to speak one short word of Advice to my Friends, that hath been often given to me, though I was not so fortunate, and so happy as to take it, and that is, That they would neither hear any man speak, nor speak themselves, that which they would not have repeated; for there is no such thing as Faith in man to man, whatever there is in man to God: either the Tears of a Wife, or a Family of little helpless Children, something or other will tempt and provoke men to betray one another. When God hath a Work to do, he will not want Instruments, for he can make them; nor will he want a way to do it, for he can contrive it and bring it to pass. And I do most heartily desire, and my earnest Prayer to the Almighty is, That this may be the last Blood spilt upon this account. I know Acts of Indulgence and Mercy in the King would make him much easier in his Government, and would make his People sit much easier under it; and that the Lord may incline his heart to Mercy, ought to be the Prayer of every good man. What hath happened, and what hath been the present occasion of our Calamity, I suppose every man knows: what Provocations have been on the one hand, Fears and Necessities, Jealousies and Sufferings of the other, I will not intermeddle with, resolving to use my utmost endeavour to make that Peace and reconciliation with my God, which is impossible for me to make with man; and to make it my hearty Prayer to the Great God before whom I am in little time to appear, That he would stench this Issue of Blood, and find out some other way to preserve these Kingdoms in Unity and Peace; to the Honour and Glory of his Great Name, and the eternal Comfort of his People.

One word, Mr. Sheriff, I desire leave to speak as to *Ireland*, because the King press it hard upon me, and several people have been with me about *Ireland*, how far *Ireland* was concerned in this matter. I do aver here, as in the presence of God, before whom I am now going to appear, That I do not know an Englishman nor Protestant in *Ireland* engaged in it. What I did know, was only of one Scottish Gentleman in the North; and the King knows it, but he says he does not believe it. For they that were concerned, I was never in any of their Councils: I never saw any of those Lords, but the Duke of *Monmouth*, and that was I believe above six months ago. I never saw nor spoke with one Lord, only my Lord *Howard*; I heard my Lord *Howard* say, That they did not value *Ireland*, for it must follow *England*.

I have not more to say, Mr. Sheriff: but truly you will do an act of a great deal of Charity, if you will prevail with the King for an Act of Indulgence and Liberty to his People; I think so: and so the Lord have mercy upon me.

Dr. *Cartwright*. You blame them for that which is their Virtue and not their Crime, That they have been Witnesses for the King.

Walton. I was not for contriving the Death of the King, if you'll believe me.

Dr. *Cartwright*. You blame them for betraying of you in Contriving the War, upon which the death of the King must have followed, if your Treason had gone forward, for else you could not have defended your self from that Justice to which he hath brought you; and therefore for you to lay that as a Crime upon your Witnesses, is indeed very strange.

Walton. Sir, I think it was but reasonable that I should suffer that is due from Justice, and reasonable by the Law; but these men, they did not come in against me till they did it to save themselves.

Dr.

Dr. Cartwright. Better late than never : a man had better save his Soul and Body too, than die as now you do, for Crimes that ought to make every good mans heart relent ; and therefore for your blaming them, it was for that which was their duty to do, they have not committed a Crime in that, but a very meritorious act.

Walton. They have revealed it with that aggravating circumstance, which I think no rational man will be guilty of.

Dr. Cartwright. That circumstance which you call aggravating, is no aggravation at all : That is rather a mitigation of your Crime, to make them believe that You were tenderer of the Kings person than to shoot him when he was not armed. But you confess you were consulting this Crime.

Walton. I was not to have a hand in the Kings Death.

Dr. Cartwright. But it was proposed when you were there.

Walton. It was so.

Dr. Cartwright. And it was agreed to be done.

Walton. Truly I do not know how far it was agreed ; I was there many Meetings.

Dr. Cartwright. These very Meetings you could not but be sensible of.

Walton. There were several Meetings wherein the business of the Kings life was never spoke of.

Dr. Cartwright. That was agreed in those Meetings ; but you had a tenderer Conscience.

Walton. I say, they were for asserting our Liberties and Properties.

Dr. Cartwright. I would fain have you explain that.

Walton. Truly, Sir, since you do press me to speak, we were under general apprehensions, and so were those Lords that are likely to suffer, as I have heard ; they were under general apprehensions of Popery and Slaverys coming in.

Dr. Cartwright. What signe was there of it ? you had no Persecution at all ; you were allowed by the Law to meet five in a house, besides those of the Family. It is true, the Conventicles have been disturbed of late ; and I would have you look upon it as a Judgment of God, to bring you to this for forsaking the Church of England : You have forsaken Communion with that Church in that way you were instructed from your Youth.

Walton. I do not come here to dispute of Religion, but I come here to die religiously, if it please God to enable me.

Dr. Cartwright. I pray God enable you : but I would not have you charge that as a Crime upon the Witnesses, which was their Duty.

Walton. I can't tell how to excuse my Witnesses for aggravating things against me, and making them worse than really they were.

Dr. Cartwright going to reply ; *Walton.* Pray, Sir, give me leave for a man to invite a man to a Meeting, to importune him to this Meeting, to be perpetually solliciting him, and then to deliver him up to be hanged, as they have done me.

Dr. Cartwright. It was a Crime to sollicit you to those Meetings ; but when you were in, it was a Duty in you and in them to reveal it : if God had given you the grace to reveal them, the turn had been theirs which now is yours. And whereas you say you cannot excuse them, that is uncharitable.

Walton. I do forgive them, and I desire with all my heart God would forgive them.

Dr. Cartwright. You confess you were guilty enough to take away your life.

Walton. I was so. The same measure we mete to another, that measure God will mete to us : Then, Sir, I do leave it to God.

Dr. Cartwright. Then you pray this may be the last blood spilt upon this account.

Walton. I do so.

Dr. Cartwright. Would not you have Traytors brought to their end ? You talk of spilling Blood, as if it were innocent Blood now spilt, when you do confess and own the guilt. But I shall give you no further disturbance, but my Prayers to Almighty God for you, that God would give you mercy. And then turning to *Hone*.

Dr.

Dr. C. Mr *Hone* give glory to God, and unburthen your Conscience, for you have but a short time to stay here.

Hone. I have nothing further to say, but that I have been guilty of the Crime. Dr. C. You are so?

H. Yes, I am guilty of this Crime according to the Law of the Land.

Dr. C. I, and according to the Law of God? *H*. Yes.

Dr. C. You say according to the Law of the Land, a man may be sworn out of his life by false witnesses, but you were guilty of Conspiring the Death of the King, and raising an Insurrection?

H. Truly I must say as the Captain well minded, I was drawn in. *Thou sawest a thief, and thou consentedst with him*: So I say, that I was drawn in, I saw the thief and consented; I have looked upon my self since to be the more guilty of blood, and my Circumstance was to be drawn in, and insnared; for I never was at any of their meetings, none of their Cabals, but in a publick *Coffee-house* or *Tavern*, where they discoursed the matter of Fact: and I was to meet the K. and the D. of *York*, but I did not know at that time when, or where, nor what was my business.

Dr. C. But you were to assist? *H*. Yes, I promised that, to assist.

Dr. C. Do you beg God and the Kings forgiveness for it, from the bottom of your heart, that you have been guilty of this: *For if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the Ditch*; as well he that leads, as he that is led, although he that leads may fall deeper: There are circumstances make one mans Crime greater than another; The greatness of theirs do's not lessen yours.

H. I believed that then I was very near another snare: I was resolved to go down into the Country, and not meddle in the thing at all, and had been in the Country, but meeting with *Keeling*, (I freely forgive him for whatsoever is done,) he called me, and discoursing with him, I did say I was for killing the K. and saving the D. of *York*.

Dr. C. Why was you for saving the D. of *Y*.

H. I do not know what to say as to that: there was no reason.

Dr. C. What was your own private reason for killing the K. and saving the D. of *Y*.

H. As to that I think this, that the D. of *Y*. did openly profess himself to be a *R. Catholick*, and I did say I had rather dispose of the K. than the D. of *Y*.

Dr. C. Had you rather a *Papist* should Reign over us, as you take him to be, than the K.?

H. I do not know what to say to that.

Dr. C. That do's deserve a reason, Mr. *Hone*. You ought to give some reason of that, you cannot but have some reason; if you had had a design to kill the D. and save the K. then it might be to prevent Popery, but you say the quite contrary. God in Heaven forgive you for your murderous design.

H. I know as little of this as any poor silly man in the world, I was fain to gather it, I had it not so down right, I was drawn into it, however I am now to die: as for the Witnesses, I desire the Lord to forgive them.

Dr. C. They have not wronged you, they have done their duty.

Dr. C. *Rouse* what say you?

Rouse. As a man and a Christian, in the first place, as God hath made me a Christian through his Grace, that the World may understand, that I do not dye as Capt. *Walcot* saies, an Atheist; I do here declare in the presence of God, and this vast number of people, what Faith I dye in: In that very Faith which was once delivered, and in the Belief of that Doctrine which the Church of *England* makes Profession of, and is agreeable to the word of God, being founded upon the Doctrine of the Prophets, and Apostles, whereof *Jesus Christ* is the Corner Stone. There have been very various opinions concerning me, upon the account of the various employments that I have been exercised in, both here, and beyond Sea: It has been my lot to fall under such circumstances, and to fall under such misrepresentations and Censures, upon the account of some publick Employments, that I have been in for the K. and after I returned from *Flanders*, upon the account

count of Disbanding, it was almost morally impossible for such a one in my capacity, to stand right in the affections and opinions of all people. When I was employ'd in *Flanders*, in the payment of that Army, I was then between 2 Rocks: I will leave it to the Judgment of all sorts of people, you know the Country, I need not particularise, nor reflect upon opinions, and the like. But I having been bred up in *England*, and had that education it pleased God to give me, I was not fond of, nor carried off with that debauchery in those times: and sometimes, more than once or twice, it was my lot that I was like to have been murdered for pleading for, and justifying the actions of the King of *England*. Since my return, and being employ'd under Sir *The. Poyer*, and some others about disbanding, there it came to my Lot, because I could not humour some Gentlemen, who neither feared God, nor honoured the King. I will not say so of all, for I know some were very worthy Gentlemen, that scorn'd any of those actions, which some would attempt. There is one worthy Gent. I can speak very honourably of, that so they might have their pockets full of money, did not value how the Accounts were stated, and at the very same time I was under many temptations of handfuls of Guineas in my hand to do so and so, to cheat the King, and because I would not do that, I was looked upon as a Jesuit. I did wave all these things under those circumstances. It hath been my lot likewise being employ'd by Sir *T. P.* and the rest of the Commissioners to fall into those Companies and places where my Lord *Shaftsbury* and others have been, and have had some kind of Discourse, which was not Treason, but rather a thing that I ever abhorred, and declared a detestation of: since these hurly burlys, concerning Parliaments going off, and coming on, did discontent the people upon one account or another, I confess I have been a hearer, and have understood too much of some kind of meetings, which I pray God forgive them for, and especially those that call themselves Protestants, being 10000 times worse than any others. That there have been such kind of Designs, and Meetings, and Clubbs, I have not been ignorant of, God forgive me that I have not been as careful and as diligent, and as ready and forward to discover it a great while since. That I ever had a hand in it, or the least thought or resolution, or intention to appear in it, but rather, on the contrary, have declared my opinion against it both in the sight of God, and man, as a breach of the Laws of God, and the Laws of the Land, and contrary to our Duty, who are bound to pray for the King, and all that are in Authority. I do declare in the presence of God, I am a perfect stranger, and I thank God my Conscience is clear, I have acquainted his Majesty in Council, and I have had the Honour to be admitted into his Majesties presence in private almost half an hour on *Saturday* was seven night, where I was as clear and above board, and as faithful to his Majesty as I could be in an humble manner, according to my duty, where I offered to have some time, and place allotted, that I might give him a whole Scheme of the business: For there were a great many Gentlemen that had a respect for me, it was their opinions that I had a general Knowledge of all the Clubbs, and all the Designs that ever were since the King came in, but they were under a mistake. I gave his Majesty an account to the best of my knowledge, and when I had done, his Majesty seem'd to be pleas'd, and to thank me for it; but before I had power to put it in writing, and wait upon his Majesty, the Providence of God did so order it, the Council thought it fit that I should be committed to Prison, where I was some days; I have had more kindness among *Heathens* and *Indians*, I pray God to forgive them for it, I had not liberty to send to my Wife big with Child, in two days where I was.

Sir, I shall not hold you in suspense, and multiply words, but what is most proper to this occasion. What I have given to his Majesty in Council; and what I have spoken to his Majesty in private, is nothing but the naked truth to clear my own Conscience, that I may not go out of the world with any thing upon me. I wish those that call themselves Protestants would discharge their duty better to God and
the

the King, than either I or the best Subject ever did. I have lookt upon it as an obligation ever since I knew what it was, to be a man, to carry my self obedient to those that God has set over me, especially the King and those that are in Authority; and I have made it my practice to pray for the King, as for my own soul. That it has been my lot to be acquainted with those vanities of Clubs; and persons, no rational man will wonder, considering the Circumstances and places I was called to. There is one particular Gentleman, Mr. *Sheriff*; I must desire the favour to clear my self by something that took occasion to speak of yesterday. I did acquaint you, Mr. *Sheriff*, with what I had spoken to the King, how I was interrupted in the further discovery of what I had a mind to say. What was further said yesterday, it was nothing but the naked truth. In the first place, as to what was afterwards discoursed of, as to some particular persons, namely and particularly Sir *Thomas Player*, I must do justice to all the world. That he hath been acquainted with the Lord *Shaftsbury*, none here will wonder; but that he hath been very shy of his Company since he came out of the *Tower*; for he told me many times he never was in his company but once, for he did not like some things, and saw some designs that he was afraid were going on; and thereupon Sir *Thomas Player* was so ingenious and honest to the King, as to break off. I always look'd upon him as a very Loyal subject, and I must declare in the presence of God and all these people, I never heard him speak one dishonourable word of the King; what he may have had with others is best known to himself. I have been in several Clubs eating and drinking, where it has been discount to accommodate the Kings Son, the D. M. That there was a design to set up the D. of M. I will not say while the King reigns, though some extravagant hot-headed men have taken upon them to discourse these things; but not any worthy man: I know those that were worthy to be called by that name, have declared in my hearing, that in opposition to the D. of J. if the King be seized, they would stand by the D. of M. There are others, (I will not give nicknames to any, you are wise men, and know what I mean by speaking in the general,) that were for a Commonwealth; and some there were, two or three persons, I shall be as plain as I can, and I hope you will bear with me, since it came to my lot to come to the knowledge of it. Some were for the D. of M. some for a Commonwealth, and some, but very few, not worth naming, were for the D. of *Bucks*. But that I think fell at last between these two, being the greater part, as far as I did apprehend by discoursing here and there in the City, which I did very frequently do. But the way of these Gentlemens discoursing these things was only one at a time, especially a very industrious Gentleman that hath made it his practice a long time, (for it hath been my lot to be acquainted but two months, and that too long,) which is the Witness that comes against me, and I pray God to forgive him; and I blame him not for discovering me, but for the words he spake himself, by way of instigating me to enter into a design against the King; they were his own words and not mine. I blame him not for discovering any thing whereby the King may be served. He did tell me several times there were Clubs in London, but I could never get out of him the places where the Clubs were. Yet I endeavour'd what possibly I could to come to the bottom of that design; for my intent was to make a faithful and true discovery, that I might not go to *Whitbalt* or a Justice of Peace, with an idle story, for a shame; but at last I got out of him that *Rich. Goodenough* was chiefly instrumental. This was a very few days before notice was given, this certain person *Thomas Lee*, the *Dyer*, that he was sworn against by one *Howe*. I asked him the meaning. He told me that that *Howe* was a very Rascal. I asked *Lee* Sir, what course shall be taken? for what by the *Dissenters* of the one hand; and what by the persecutions of the other; we must think of a way how to relieve it. There is some design in hand, says *Lee*, don't you know? no, said I, I would be glad to hear.

There

There is an invasion, said he, going on, a design against the King and the Government, but that was only a fallacy; but he discovered afterwards to me that there was a resolution, and a certain number of people about the City and the Nation, to make an attack upon the *Tower of London*, upon the City of *London*, upon *Whitehall*, and upon *St. James's*: I said what do you design then? have a care that you don't shed more innocent blood, for the Land is stained with blood too much already. No, faith he, the resolution as Mr. *Goodenough* faith, is not to spill a drop of blood, but only to secure the Kings person, that the Papists do not kill him, and then faith he we will deal with the D. of *X.* as we please. They were his own words to the best of my remembrance. Afterwards this Gentleman was sworn against by one Mr. *Keeling* in *East-Smithfield*, faith he; he's a Rogue and a Dog, and I have seen him but once these nine Months, and I had no discourse but only drunk a glass of drink; which proves since to the contrary. Being then in Company at the *Kings-head Tavern* in *Swishens-Ally* near the *Exchange*, news was brought, he was sworn against, he did not know what to do; but found out a place near *London-wall*, and desired me to go to one or two about the matter, he knew not how to obscure himself, his house was beset, Messengers after him, and likewise a kind of Judgment or Execution; how to put both ends together he knew not. I told him, if he would I had a bed, he might go to my house. I never heard a word from *Rich. Goodenough* one way nor another of any design against the K. and the Government, whom I have known this seven years; only this *Lee* told me, his hand was as deep as any other. Its true, this Gentleman comes and swears against me, that I should be the only person to ingage in taking the *Tower of London*. *Sir John* — you know very well in what capacity I have been, and how very uncapable I was in my person to take the *Tower of London*. I speak in the presence of God, before whom I am to appear in a few minutes, I never had any such thought, never had any such desire, never consulted with any persons of Quality, never discoursed of any Arms in order to it, but only this I was saying. This fellow being set on (and I think a more proper person than any man in the world) for that he was a little low in the world, he was under a temptation of being thrown out by an *Anabaptistical Church*, for some kind of failings, he was under a temptation to make himself somebody, therefore he did close with Mr. *Goodenough* and some others; and when the first Proclamation came forth, he himself told me, I never knew it before, that *Ramsay*, Captain *Waiter*, *Nalthrop* and *Goodenough* and *West* were concerned in this design, he was the man told me: and when the second Proclamation came out, then he could tell me of those too. I told him he was a wretch he had not discovered it betimes; as to his swearing against me, for which God forgive him, that I had a hand in taking the *Tower of London*, the thing is this: He knew I was intimately acquainted with a certain Captain, one *Blage*, who was my servant 21 years ago in *Virginia*; he hath been a very faithful and honest servant, I believe, to his Majesty for these 15 years, particularly five years in three of his Majesties Men of War. I know very well the man is of such a principle that he abhors to ingage in any wicked design. But only *Lee* discoursing at random about taking the *Tower*, Captain *Blage* gave this answer, (for he is a very jocular man,) if I were of a mind to take it, were it for the service of the King, if there were an enemy coming in, faith he, I would with six Ships well manned and armed with Guns undertake to take the *Tower*: upon what account he said it, I don't know, but I believe in my Conscience he had no more design to put such a thing in practice, than I have to cut my own throat at present; Captain *Blage* had heard these discourses *pro* and *con*, faith he 2 or 300 men would do it, it's weak in such a place, I wonder his Majesty does not make it stronger. Now when he came to swear, as soon as he was taken up, he took occasion to swear against me, all the discourse he used in pressing me to undertake this design.

Mr. Sheriff *Rich.*

Mr. Sheriff Rich. Pray, if you have any thing that was not told in Court, discover it, but you need not go over that which was in Court.

Rouse. Mr. Sheriff, I have nothing at all to say, either to blame the Judges, or the Jury, or the Witnesses themselves, the greatest of all: I thank God I was not any way to have had any hand in it: but the very words themselves that came out of his mouth he makes me the Author of, but I freely forgive him, as I desire God would forgive me: tho he did tell me positively there were five hundred Arms to be brought out of the Countrey. I heard of such a thing, I confess, here and there, but could never know the Authors of it, nor the Clubb where it was discoursed: it was lately that he told me, *Goodenough* told him, That the King was to be taken off as he came from *Windsor*, That there was several things to be done in order to it, That they wanted a place of meeting, and some thought of *Salisbury Plain*, and some of *Black Heath*, but the most convenient place pitched upon was *Black Heath*. They were discoursing how to gather the People together; Some were for communicating it privately; others for a Ball; They asked my Thoughts? said I, the best way will be, if you throw up a Silver Ball, to get the People together: for my design was to get what I could out of them. Thereupon he went to Mr. *Goodenough*, and discoursed him, and told him, that my Opinion was, to throw up a Silver Ball and declare, All those that will come and drink a Bowl of Punch, shall be welcome, and that by this means they would have gathered thirty or forty thousand men in two or three dayes time, which otherwise would have been a fortnight a doing: but for himself, I will not blame him, nor lay any thing to his charge of which he is not guilty. I must needs give him his due. I do not remember that ever he insisted upon shedding of Blood, but that he hath discoursed in very opprobrious terms and base Language of the Duke of York; by calling him Rogue, and Dog, and such things: and that *We will do his work*: That is true. And, that after the King's decease, the Duke of *Monmouth*, having a Vogue with the People, must of necessity succeed: I cannot tell what I can say more as to that; that is the chief thing I have to say, if I have not forgot any thing.

Mr. Sheriff Rich. Mr. *Rouse*, you would do well to name those Persons that were with you in that Consultation.

Rouse. There was no Consultation at all, Sir. That I had was from this *Thomas Lee's* mouth himself, That there were five hundred Arms to be brought in; That he had it from *Richard Goodenough*, and *Nehborp*; and Mr. *West*, and that Mr. *West* particularly knew from whom these Arms were to come, for he gave me a hint that part of the Arms were bought by Mr. *West*.

Mr. Sheriff Rich. Who proposed the way of the Ball?

Rouse. Sir, he was saying, there was several Propositions made in the Club where *Goodenough* was, and some thought of one way and some another, but they could not find out a proper way; said he, what do you think? said I, if the People meet together they may throw up a Ball, just in that careless way, I said so. So he came to me afterwards, and said, that he had discoursed with Mr. *Goodenough*, and Mr. *Goodenough* told him, that there was forty thousand pound in Bank, and if such a Ball cost thirty or forty pound, it mattered not, to carry on such a Design as that was.

Here Captain *Walcott* spake.

Captain Walcott. Sir, I desire you to take notice of this, among other things, that so far as I ever heard of this business, it is of no longer a date than *August* or *September* last: I would not have this Consequence of it, so as to stifle the Popish Plot.

Mr. Sheriff. Do you know any thing of the Popish Plot that hath not yet been discovered?

Capt. Wal. No, Sir.

Hone. I had but the knowledge in *March* last of this business.

Capt. Wal. I do not know nor ever heard, that it was older than *August* or *September* last.

Mr. Sheriff. Ordinary, do your Office.

Ordinary to Walcot. Have you fully discharged your Conscience?

Capt. Walcot. I have.

But it being said that *Rouse* was interrupted,

Mr. Sheriff North. If you have any thing to say, *Mr. Rouse*, go on, but do not make Repetitions.

Who pulled his Paper out of his Pocket and looked on it.

Rouse. He declared further, *Mr. Sheriff*, That when once the thing came so far that the Tower and City was taken and so many Men gathered together, they would quickly increase; and the method was, to go to *Whitehall* with Swords in their hands, and to demand Priviledges and Liberties, not to take away the Kings Life; but only let the D. of L. look to it: for he was resolved upon it that he should not succeed the King. Then he delivers another Paper, being his Petition to the King, and some more Notes in Short-hand.

Ordinary. Have you fully satisfied your Conscience.

Rouse. I have Sir a Word or two to speak to the People. I have discharged my Conscience as to any thing as to what I was acquainted with. It had been happy for me if I had not heard of it; but that I had a hand in it I thank God I am free.

Dr. C. You had a hand in the concealing.

Rouse. That I had.

Dr. C. And in maintaining the Correspondency without discovering it; and you do diminish your Crime.

Rouse. No Sir, I don't desire it. *Mr. Sheriff*, I do freely acknowledge and confess that it is just in God in the first place; and righteous and just in the King, that I die; and that I die justly for concealing it. I would lay no blame upon the King nor any other Person in the World. I did not conceal it upon any Account to his Majesty's Prejudice nor any Man in the Nation; and I hope God will give more Grace to those Persons that do succeed. I beg a Word or two I had almost forgot, as a Man and as a Christian, That it is a thing of such evil Consequence, I have found it by bitter Experience now, for such and such publick Places to be visited, especially by those that are Professors of the Protestant Religion, and particularly Coffee-Houses, where it is very well known too much time is spent, and Families, and Wives, and Children, suffer too much: I pray God the People may take notice of it and lay it to Heart that spend their time so, thinking it is but a Penny and a Penny; and so discourse of State-Affairs as if so be they were Gods Counsellors in the Government of the World, running from the Coffee-House to the Tavern and from the Tavern to the Coffee-House, which hath been the Debauchery of this Age; and so bring them into this Dilemma to discourse of those Things neither pleasing to God nor the King, nor themselves, but their Prejudice. The Profanation of the Sabbath-Day is commonly discours'd of in this place; God forgive me for not observing it as I should. I pray God those that follow me may be more careful of their Duty to God and Man, for the good of themselves, their Souls, and their Families; those that are young especially and coming up, that they may chiefly mind their Concerns for Eternity, and that they would pay their Duty and Homage to the King and those that God has set over them, and not neglect that great Command to pray for the King and all that are in Authority.

Being asked if they had any thing more to say, They said, No. *Mr. Ordinary* then prayed with them, and sung a Psalm; and then they desired to pray themselves; which was granted.

Captain Walcot's Prayer.

O Lord, our God, Thou art the God of present help in time of Trouble, a God, that hast promised to be with thy People in the Fire and in the Water. O Lord, we pray thee, that thou wilt afford thy presence to thy poor suffering Servants at this time, that thou wilt enable us to pray with Faith, to trust in thee, to be in expectation and hope of Mercy from thee. O Lord, thy Servant that speaketh doth confess, that the Iniquities at his heels have justly overtaken him, that just and righteous art thou in all thy Judgments, that he hath reason to bear thy Indignation, because he hath sinned. O Lord, we beg, even for thy Son Christ Jesus's sake, that our sins may not be brought to our remembrance in order to our despondency or discouragement, or our despairing in thy Mercy, but rather, O Lord, in order to an assurance that our great God hath pardoned and forgiven them in the Blood of his Son. O do thou bath each of our Souls in that Fountain set open for Sin and for Uncleanneſs. Groe us, O Lord, inward Spiritual strength from thy self, and give us cause to bless thy Name for inward supporting Graces, for inward assistances. O let us find an increase of spiritual strength, let us be assured that our Sins are done away, and let us also be assured that our Names are written in the Book of Life, and let it be such an assurance as may be matter of joy and rejoycing to our Souls. O do thou enable every one of us, from the inward evidence of thy Spirit, to say with thy Servant Job, That we know and are assured that our Redeemer lives. O do thou give us such an assurance of an Interest in thee, that we may be enabled in deed, in reality, and in truth, to say, that we have run our race, and we have finished our course with Joy: O let us now receive the fruit of those many Petitions that we have put up unto thee. O let us now find the Spirit influencing our Hearts to a yielding patience, and a thorow subjection to the Will of God: let us find thy Spirit assuring us that we are thine. O let us have stronger Evidences of thy Love, stronger Testimonies of thy Affection: O give us some inward Tastes of those heavenly Joys that we hope through the Mercy of Jesus Christ in a little time to have a more full Fruition of. O Lord, do thou speak peace to every one of our Consciences; enable us to take hold of thy Strength that thou may'st make Peace with us, and let us not be discouraged, O Lord, since we have a High-Priest that can be touched with our Infirmities: let us with Boldness have Access to the Throne of Grace, that we may obtain Mercy and Grace to help in time of need. O take away the Sting and Terror that is in Death in any one of us, by assuring us of our Interest in thee, by assuring us that our Names are recorded in the Book of Life; tho we lye under a Sentence of Death from Man, we beg that we may have a Sentence of Life eternal from our God; and tho we meet thee, O Lord, in a Field of Blood, we beg that thou wilt come to meet with us in a Field of Mercy. O Lord extend thy Mercy, thou Lord whose Compassions faileth not, cause the Bowels of thy tender pity to yearn with Compassion towards us: enable every one of us, O Lord, to die believing in Jesus Christ, to die hoping in his Mercy, to die, relying upon him for Justification, for Sanctification, and for Adoption. O Lord, though we have been Prodigals, we desire to return to our Fathers House where there is Bread enough. O enable us to come unto thee as Children

dren to their Parents. O let our Prayers be offered with so much Fervour in Christ Jesus, that thou mayst think it reasonable to assure us of thy Love. O let the Intercession of Jesus Christ be accepted. O Lord, we beg that he may be our Advocate; if our Advocate be our Judge, certainly we cannot miscarry. O let Jesus Christ be the Hope of every one of our Souls; and Lord let not our Hope be like that of the Hypocrite, but let our Faith be built upon the Rock of Ages, and let us not fall from the apprehension of Affliction and Punishment from men. Yet, O Lord, do thou so order our Hearts and our Spirits aright, that thou mayst be the Lot of our Inheritance, and our Portion for ever. O do thou interest us in thy self; Lord carry on thy own Work. We desire to come unto thee that we may have life. Lord help us, Lord put to thy helping Hand, Lord teach us truly to leave no Sin unrepented of in any one of our Hearts. And O Lord, we beg that with us thou wilt give us leave to recommend unto thy Care our poor Wives and Children: Thou hast promised to be the Father of the Fatherless and the Husband of the Widdows; and thou hast commanded us to cast the Care of them upon thee. O do thou make Provision for them, deal kindly with them, imprint thy own Image upon them, and enable them to bear this severe stroke with Patience. O Lord, stand by and support them; let their Ways be found so pleasing and acceptable unto thee, that thou mayst think it reasonable to make all their Enemies at Peace. Lord, interest them in thy Love, and do thou favour them with thy Mercies and loving Kindness. O Lord, we also beseech thee in the behalf of these poor Kingdoms wherein we are, that thou wilt be merciful to them, prevent Divisions among them, heal all their Breaches, compose their Differences, make all that are thine of one Heart and Mind in the things of thee our God. And Lord, if it be thy Will, do thou rule in the Heart of the King, that he may rule and reign for thee, and for the good of thy Church and people. Lord, favour us with thy mercy, assure us of thy love, stand by us in the difficult hour, take us into thine own Care, cause thy Angels to attend us, to convey our Souls as soon as they are divided from our Bodies, into Abraham's Bosom, into the Paradise of our God. And Lord, we beg that thou wilt be with us, with thy extraordinary Presence, helping us to trust in thee, doing for us beyond what our narrow Hearts are able to ask or think. All which we beg for the sake of thy Son Jesus Christ, in whom, O Lord, this little time do thou give us Hearts to give thee all Glory, Honour, and Praise, now and for evermore. Amen. Sweet Jesus, Amen.

H O N E's Prayer.

GLorious Lord our God, thou art the God of the whole Creation, and the God that created the Heavens and the Earth in six days; by thy power we stand here before thee: Lord, help us to be looking up unto Jesus Christ, who is exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour to give Repentance to *Israel*, and Remission of sins. Now, Lord, for thy mercies sake we would be helped to say, That Power that raised up Christ from the dead, that is able to raise up our poor Souls before thee from Death to Life. O Lord, for thy mercies sake wash all our Souls in the Blood of Jesus Christ, *which speaketh better things than that of Abel*: and, Lord, for thy mercies sake pardon all our sins, from our first, our Original sins, and our sins of Sabbath-breaking, and our sins of Transgression, and the sin for which we are condemn'd; O Lord, pardon it, and let us not go out of the World with one sin hid in our Souls. For thy mercies sake pardon all our sins; and, Lord, do thou preserve this Nation, and put it into the heart of the King to be merciful, and to rule in Truth and Righteousness. And for thy mercies sake, rule the Affairs of this Nation, and help to rule and govern all things for the government of our Souls and our Spirits, for thy mercies sake; and help us that with joy we may be received into Glory, into the eternal Habitations: for Christ is sent into the World to that purpose, to save sinners, of whom we are chief. And, Lord, for thy mercies sake, let me have a true belief in Jesus Christ aright, to be looking up unto him for Life and for Salvation. Oh that we might perish if we perish, and be found doing thy will to the utmost of our power. Lord, accept of us, and help us and be with us this little time we shall be in this world. All which we beg for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be Glory with the Kingdom both now and for evermore.

Mr. ROUS's Prayer.

O Lord our God, who art nearer to each and every one of us, than we are to our selves: It is not all the Confessions to men in the world, were it confessed by the Tongues of Angels, those glorious Spirits above, that can avail any thing with the great God, against whom we have sinned, or that can procure pardon for the least transgression which deserves eternal wrath. And therefore for the Sins that we have been guilty of, either against the first or the second Table, either against God as our Creator, Christ as our Redeemer, or the Holy and Blessed Spirit as our Sanctifier, the sins that we have committed against thy holy Church, and that Faith that I hope we die in the belief of, the sins that we have been guilty of against our Neighbours, upon one account and another, the sins that we have been guilty of against our Governours and Rulers, to whom thou hast obliged us under manifold obligations, both as Men and Christians, the sins that we have been guilty of in our several places, Relations and Capacities whatsoever, whatever have been their Circumstances and their Aggravations, the least whereof deserves everlasting death, without the Merits of Jesus; for all those greater or lesser sins, whether that original sin we brought into the world with us, that source and fountain, and foundation of all other sins, those actual sins and transgressions against any of those that thou hast set over us, or those that have been equal with us; those relation-sins, as Husband and Wife, as Master and Servant, in every relation and capacity; Lord forgive them, and wash them away in the blood of the Lamb of God, that stands at the right hand of the Majesty on high. And because we have no worthiness of our own to recommend us to thee, therefore we beg thee for thy Sons sake to fetch arguments from thy self. Our righteousness is as filthy rags, and the best of us are as a menstruous cloth. Fetch Arguments from the riches of thy grace, from the goodness of thy nature, from the multitude of thy mercies, from the blood of thy Son, from

that blessed, eternal intercession that we hope he is making for us, and for all that belong to the election of Grace, and shall be brought to glory. Remember thy Churches, hasten the fulfilling of thy promises, the accomplishing of thy prophecies through the world, the downfall of the man of sin, and the destruction of all thy true Churches implacable enemies. Lord hasten the day of the calling the Jews, and the fullness of the Gentiles; put an end to Wars and rumours of Wars, let the desire of all Nations come. Dwell in these Three Nations, be a wall of fire round about them; prevent any kind of Insurrection at home, all manner of Invasion from abroad; let those that tarry behind, enjoy peace, and truth, and righteousness. Dwell in and reign in the heart of the King, Lord bless and prosper him in his Person, give him a long, a prosperous, and an happy Reign. Good Father we pray thee, let him live here with a flourishing Crown upon his head, till thou in thy due time shalt receive him to an eternal Crown hereafter. Bless him in his Royal Family and Relations, in his Royal Brother. Bless him in his Royal Consort, make the King a Nursing Father, and the Queen a Nursing Mother. Confound all hatred, malice and envy, all evil speaking, every thing that is contrary to sound Doctrine, and give thy people that live under him, to shew that dutifulness and respect as becomes Christians, and as becomes Loyal Subjects. Bless the Clergy, by whatsoever Names or Titles distinguished, make them sound in their Doctrine, and make them useful and unblameable in their Lives and Conversations. Help them to mind the Souls committed to their charge, and help them to do their duty; that they may be able to say, behold here are we and the Children whom thou hast given us. Now Lord bless all the Nation from the highest to the lowest, from the Prince to the Peasant, of all sorts, ranks and degrees. Give Loyalty towards our dread Sovereign, who is a merciful and gracious Prince, whom thou hast set as thy Vicegerent to Reign over us, who can do nothing but what is just and equal before thee, to whom he must give an account of all his Transactions, even to thee the King of Kings. And Lord grant peace and love and unity one among another, and the practical observation of thy holy day, and those duties that relate to God and Man. Grant that those that follow after us, may take particular Example by us. We must needs acknowledge and smite upon our thighs, that we in Justice are brought hither, that we have nothing to do, but to condemn our selves, and justify the Justice of the Land, and to pray God to bless his Majesty to Reign in these Nations, and those that shall succeed him upon the Throne. All which we beg upon the account of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was dead and behold he lives, to whom with thy self and eternal Spirit, we desire to ascribe, as is due, all honour, praise, and glory everlasting. Amen.

There was these Lines more in the Paper delivered by Captain Walcor, than what you have before seen.

AS to *Ireland*, I am very inclinable to believe, could I have charged any body there, with being engaged in the matter for which I suffer, I might have had my Life; but by the blessing of God, I will charge no man wrongfully, no not to save my Life; and these being some of the last words I am to speak, I do aver: I knew not an Englishman, or Protestant in *Ireland* any way engaged in it. Besides, I was told, they that were mostly concerned, did not value *Ireland*, and said it must of course follow *England*. Something I heard of one Gentleman in the North, and whether it be true or false I will not determine.

F I N I S.